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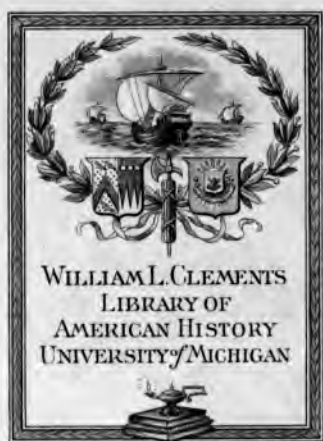
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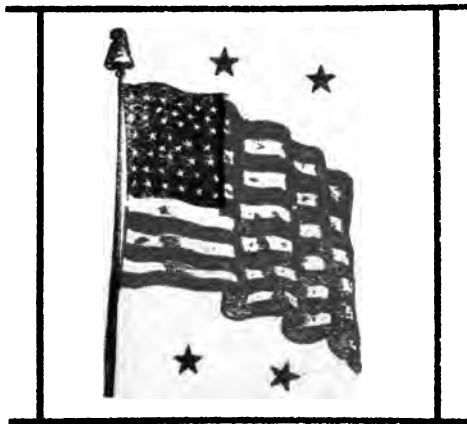
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THE FOUR NEW STARS

1789-1889.



— ADDRESS —

— OF —

Hon. SAMUEL S. COX

OF NEW YORK,

AT HURON, DAKOTA.

ADDRESS

—OF—

HON. SAMUEL S. COX,^{Ulliman}

OF NEW YORK,

—AT—

HURON, DAKOTA,

JULY 4, 1889.

"O eagle, flown beyond this faded day,
The height is won, thou hast thine heart's desire;
A wider ether would thy wings essay,
And the fire in thee seeks the source of fire."

"Imperium quo neque ab exordio ullum fere minus, neque incrementis toto
orbe amplius humana potest memoria recordari."

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ADDRESS
OF
Hon. SAMUEL S. COX, of New York,
4th July, 1889,
AT HURON, DAKOTA.

CITIZENS OF DAKOTA,

Ladies and Gentlemen :

Philosophers have discovered pivotal eras in the progress of mankind. Sir Edward S. Creasy has written a book entitled, "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World—from Marathon to Waterloo." These battles were the outcome of certain crucial periods. They marked great changes in the trend of that progress.

The American Revolution was one of these epochal points. It may not have been as significant as the battle of Marathon, which drove back the Persian to his luxurious realm; or the battle of Metaurus, upon which hinged the supreme power either of Rome or Carthage; or the advent of Cromwell, which changed the order of English representative government; or the French Revolution, which uprooted the Feudal system and the divine right of royalty.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION—PIVOTAL.

But, doubtless, the Declaration of our Independence made upon this day 113 years ago—of which Saratoga was but an incident—has done more for the well being of our kind than all the decisive battles of the world. The latter claim attention, because, as Professor Creasy remarks, they are of enduring importance and have for us an abiding and actual interest, both while we investigate the chain of causes which led up to them and effects by which they have helped to make us what we are, and also while we speculate on what we probably should have been if they had been otherwise.

NOT LIBERTY, BUT INDEPENDENCE.

It is a mistake to suppose that our fathers, who made that Declaration, were contending for their liberties. Their liberties were already fixed in the English Charters and Bills of Right through centuries of struggle.

We did not contend for our liberties. We never lost our liberties. When the King and his Ministers strove to despoil us of our liberties, the colonies struck for Independence. They had rehearsed their traditional privileges and chartered rights as British subjects. Having failed in having these recognized, they declared for the inalienable rights of human nature.

The Declaration was, in one sense, a "glittering generality." But it glittered like a meteor, and became fixed above our hemisphere as a pole star, for the guidance not only of our own but of other nations seeking liberty and independence.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

The Articles of Confederation were the first attempt towards Union. They were not fully ratified until the first day of March, 1781. They proved inadequate for the purposes of a nation. Their prime defect was in the want of power to raise revenue and to regulate commerce. In other regards they were a failure. This lamentable impotence early manifested the need of a radical change. Virginia and New York felt this most urgently, and their statesmen pioneered the path to Union through a wilderness of doubt and anxiety.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ERA—1789.

But the grand event connected with our hemisphere—the consummate flower of our struggle—was the Constitution. That instrument embodied no abstractions. It ordained concrete modes, and co-ordinate and tripartite branches for a government of general welfare. It provided machinery indispensable for the development of free enterprise and the security of our liberties.

The experience which made known the defects of the Confederation, led to the appointment of deputies to the convention at Philadelphia, on the 14th May, 1787. The work of that body was concluded on September 17th of that year, and under the *sign manual* of George Washington it was transmitted to the Congress of the Confederation. In the letter of transmission, Washington said that it was "obviously impracticable in the Federal Government to secure all rights of independence—sovereignty to each,—and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a portion of liberty to preserve the rest." He pleaded for the consolidation of the Union, for in that was involved our prosperity, safety and national existence.

The Congress, on September 28th, 1787, transmitted the Constitution, with Washington's letter, to the several legislatures of the States, to be submitted in each State to a convention of delegates chosen by the people. A day was fixed for its ratifi-

cation by the State conventions, but it was not until the year 1789, that the requisite number of States had given in their ratification. A quorum of both bodies appeared on the 6th April. Upon that day, on a count, it appeared that Washington had been elected President; and on the 30th day of that month, in the City of New York, he took the oath, entered upon his duties, and delivered the first Inaugural Address in the new government.

It was, therefore, eminently fit that the people should celebrate, in the City of New York, the 30th of April as the beginning of our Constitutional Government—for it was upon that day that the system was first put in motion, although the 4th of March, 1789, began our Constitutional period.

PROGRESS IN CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

How has that constitution continued to operate? What impediments has it overcome? What improvements, by amendment, have been made? What changes were enforced by civil war? What maturity have we reached by reason of the capacity acquired by the act of Union? What institutions have given way, and what progress has been made?

To answer these questions, would be to depict the attributes and signalize the excellency of that Constitutional Government which marks our century of progress as the grandest era of history.

Thus, then, was consummated that ascending series of acts which began with the colonial charters, and led to our independence thirteen years before the Union. *Finis coronat opus*. Truly, the year '89 may be called *annus mirabilis*!

Were the elemental forces produced by our Revolution limited to this hemisphere? No! they vibrated through viewless media of transmission throughout the old world, and electrified at least one nation from slavish inertness.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—1789.

It was not through Lafayette alone, nor the other intrepid soldiers who gave their service and their life to our struggle, that rational freedom was vindicated in France. The evils under which that country had suffered during many centuries, culminated in "The French Revolution;" but the inspiration for Republican Government came from the Western Hemisphere.

Why should history always speak of that European effort for the rights of man, as condemned by frantic innovations, tragical experiences, and baleful lessons of anarchy and blood? Why confound the scoria of the volcano with the grand features of the political upheaval? "The odium of history" belongs more to the tyranny which led to the excesses.

Because the wisdom of Washington and his compatriots, and our better condition, saved us from a bloody civil ordeal, let us not forget that Republicanism in France had a different stimulus from our own. France had to contend for liberty lost, and not for independence of foreign control. Her revolution was a cataclysm. She was then subjected and is yet, measurably, to reverses and convulsions, which to us were impossible and almost inconceivable. But from that spring time of sweat and toil, what a glorious harvest the century has yielded!

THE FRUITION OF A CENTURY.

Six days after our own grand centennial, France celebrated her own republic of 1789. Behold! amidst that display of citizens and soldiers—colonial soldiers from Algiers and Annam—amidst the *vivas* of the populace, and in the presence of strangers from every land; with the blaze of lights and colors and the blare of trumpets, and the music of bands on river and boulevard by night and day, both France and America give evidence that transatlantic liberalities are still vital in the hemispheres of the world! Everywhere our own ensign is entwined with the tri-color of the French Republic. The emblematic birds and beasts of prey, and other dynastic symbols of czars, kaisers and queens, are conspicuous by their absence. Happily, the dynastic royalties are not there to disturb the harmony nor mar the magnificence of the scene. But Art and Industry are there in all their beauty and skill, in the vanguard of progress under the civil emblems and fasces of the united republics. We see reproduced in the grand procession, the conspicuous features and results of the new order—artistic, industrial and political.

Mankind itself is here in epitome, moving down the vistas of the grand plazas, and in the aisles of the Trochodera. Above all rises the Eifel tower, flashing its electric fires to the infinite stars, under which a hundred thousand Americans join in the acclamation,—“*Vive la Republique!*”

Why should we not be partakers of this rejoicing? France expended nearly a billion of dollars for our establishment. For that she burdened herself with taxation and debt. Her fiscal condition demanded a drastic review. Neckar, by his great report, sounded the tocsin for the assemblage of the “Three States General” at Versailles. That convocation was the first sign of the actual sovereignty of the French people. It was the beginning of their representative government. Indeed, it was the real beginning of the representative system in Europe.

The States General assembled five days after the inauguration of Washington. Its members were confronted with the profligacy of the court and the nobles. Its constituents were

loaded with burdens which the nobility and clergy escaped. From unrest to defiance, and from defiance to revolution, only one step; from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock—one fatal step. The spark had been communicated from America, and the magazine exploded. For the first time since 1614 her parliament met. Her people, under the lead of Mirabeau and Sieyes, in their desperation throttled the monarchy, and under grievous provocation they reasserted their ancient rights. No obstructions, no compromises were permitted. The hapless Louis—"the son of sixty kings"—lost his head.

These momentous events marched with expedition, and not without dignity. They were hardly interrupted by the blood shed on the 12th of July, or the demolition of the Bastille. The National Assembly, unlike our Continental Congress, became paramount for a time. It abolished feudal rights. It declared for press-freedom and soul-liberty. On the 18th of August it repeated, in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," the declaration penned by Thomas Jefferson.

THE NATAL DAY OF FRANCE.

Why did France choose the fifth of May for her celebration? Why not? That was the last day of the Bastille? At one blow fell that instrument of arbitrary arrests under *lettres de cachet* and royal caprice and cruelty. As the ancient order of tyranny was typified in that hateful prison, so modern liberty revived with its overthrow. But the taper of liberty lighted from the torch in the New World was obscured soon by the Directory, and the excesses of '93, and totally hidden by the Empire of Bonaparte.

The French declaration was the embodiment of our own. At every session of the National Assembly, as now in the Chamber of Deputies, American institutions were discussed, as almost their own, and their influences regarded.

AMERICAN DEBT TO FRANCE.

The diplomats, envoys and statesmen of France, and especially Vergennes and Baumarchais, had been unremitting in their efforts, and their money, in establishing our independence. But for the stupidity of Congress, the French aid would have been more speedily successful, notwithstanding the calculating spirit which prevailed, to a large extent at that time, among a certain class of our people. We had a disaffection which was directed toward the overthrow of Washington and the breaking up of the combined French alliance. It aimed at a monarchical establishment.

It may be asked: Was not France, then, a monarchy? And how could she assist us? Was it from a genuine love of liberty?

I answer: She gave us, beside money, generous ideas, even though prompted by jealousy of England. France, along with Spain, had an old grudge against England. She had been contesting for the control of the new continent.

As the recipient of her moneyed and diplomatic aid and the efforts of her brave sons who were with us to the end at Yorktown, why should we derogate from her by arrogating to ourselves? The inhabitants of what was once French Louisiana, will not fail in gratitude to its early possessor; nor in republican sympathy, now that our well-tried friend is contemned by the monarchies of Europe.

THE TWO REVOLUTIONS.

Is it possible to make the comparison between the American and the French revolutions, unless we limit observation to the years 1789 and 1889? We may compare Mirabeau with Washington; but Robespierre with Jefferson, or Danton with Madison, never!

When the Bastille fell in 1789, France had all the agonies of an unsettled political condition. On the 30th of April, in the same year, Washington, amidst peace and prosperity and universal harmony, bowing his head before Chancellor Livingstone and kissed the sacred volume, as the consecration of his civic service to the Republic. From that time on, down to this present year, which shines resplendent in this Northwestern land,—our Revolution has been a national, continental protest against the excesses of France,—and our progress since then, a world-wide exemplar of the virtues of well-ordered freedom and representative government.

Had France deferred less to the theories of Rousseau; had she suppressed his prolocutor and apostle,—Robespierre, throttled her Jacobins and avoided her Reign of Terror; had the bloody egotism and cowardice of the red Republicans been awed by the majestic strength and moderation of a Washington, the stains on the escutcheon of the first French Republic would not have been made "the horror of history." But would we have escaped them under like conditions of tyranny?

France can to-day rejoice that her land system has been broadened; and her peasant proprietors have had their titles confirmed. There is no trace of privilege or feudal quality left in her land tenure. The Bonapartes are reduced to their proper level in history, where despotisms of all kinds, whether Jacobin or imperial, find a dishonored grave.

The inexcusable blunder of the Assembly was their precipitate action, based more upon philosophy than experience. They endeavored to accomplish in a few weeks what should have been the legislative growth of a century. They did not study heedfully the nature of government, its practicalities,

and its properties and powers.* As Lord Jeffrey has said, "A child cannot be stretched out by engines to the stature of a man, or a man compelled in the morning to excel in all the exercises of an athlete."

CENTENNIAL EVENTS.

These great centennial events are worthy of celebration, joint and several. It matters little to the people of either country that profligate Kings and autocratic Emperors look askew upon such demonstrations. It matters little to France, and nothing to us, now that France has moderated her policies and conformed her polity with our own, that she had to pass through the Red Sea before she reached the Promised Land.

INDEPENDENCE, UNION, AND LAND.

It has been said by the historian of the Northwest, Mr. Hinsdale,† that next to independence and union the disposition of the Western Lands was the most important question that the old Congress had to deal with; and they still bear no small part in their relation to our independence and union.

Although it may be said that the plough and the land is a familiar figure in Fourth of July celebrations, these are of no avail if liberty be lacking. Their free use is the best foundation of freedom, and how to secure this was the problem to be solved by the American Congress in the period ante-dating as well as subsequent to the Constitution.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Those who were early associated with the disposition of the lands of the Northwest Territory, were impressed by the importance and difficulty of their management in the interest of frugal, speedy and fair settlement. If you study the early history of the Western Territories, you will be profoundly impressed by the wisdom and self-restraint that marked the first advancement of our settlements beyond the Appalachian chain toward the Mississippi and the Pacific.

CESSIONS BY THE STATES.

To understand rightly this relation, you must glance at the cessions that were made by the States of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, of the Ohio Valley domain, which has brought such incalculable opulence to our country.

* (Jeffrey's Essays, vol. 1, p. 555.)

† Page 252.

Chief Justice Chase, in a sketch of the history of Ohio, preliminary to his history of its statutes, disregarded the claims of Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York to the Northwestern lands. He believed that the claim of the United States was paramount by right of conquest, and that it was most rational and just. Before that title accrued the charter of Virginia had been judicially vacated. The grant had been resumed by the Crown. As Virginia had not remonstrated, was she not estopped? Was not her claim for the protection of the frontier only a claim upon the Treasury? Could it confer title to the lands? The western boundary of Connecticut had been so clearly defined in her agreement with New York, that her claims to territory beyond that line could not be considered valid. The pretension of New York was as thoroughly refuted by geography as by the interests of the Six Nations. As for Massachusetts, her claim rested upon a charter granted at a period when France possessed and occupied the land. Was it not, therefore, a nullity? The Chief Justice held, in opposition to these pretensions, that Congress, as the legislative head of the United States, which had rescued the vacant territory from the common enemy by the united arms and at the joint expense of all the States, should fix the superior title in the whole Union. This view has been challenged in court and in Congress, but it is now admitted as settled.

It matters little to us now whether, originally, these claimant States or the United States had the better title to the lands of our western territory. At last these lands became the property of the Union by a series of generous cessions to and acceptances by Congress under honorable conditions.

When the Constitution gave Congress the power to regulate the territory of the United States, that grant had within its purview only, the lands extending to the Mississippi river, excepting those portions reserved to Virginia in the southwest and to Connecticut and Virginia in the northwest for certain military bounties and purchases, like those of the Ohio Company.

FORMATION OF STATES.

This generation cannot comprehend the force of the obstacles to the extension of sovereignty over, and to the actual settlement of the country between the Appalachian range and the Mississippi river. These obstacles were surmounted by wise foresight and liberal policies. Some of the State cessions are more significant than the tenure of the soil; none more so than that which Mr. Jefferson and his colleagues presented on behalf of Virginia. After reciting certain acts of Congress and of Virginia, and the report adopted by Congress on the 13th of September, 1783, which stipulated that the territory was

ceded, it fixed the eminent domain in the Federal government and gave it crystallization through wise political legislation. It ordained that the lands should be formed into States. These should contain a suitable area, not less than 100 nor more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances might admit; and the States so formed should be distinct representative States, and be admitted as members of the Federal Union,—each to have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States!

This was the first of the grand ideas in connection with the Northwest Territory. It marked the end of the long struggle between the Congress and Virginia. It also made a finality of the question as to the territory southwest of the Ohio which remained with Virginia.

Jefferson's idea of a State of proper dimensions is significant to the people of Dakota, who were interested in its division. It gave much emphasis toward determining the voice and vote in fixing the present division line between the Dakotas. All honor to Virginia for the political genius and prophetic sight of her statesmen; for to her lasting renown be it said that Virginia was the only State making a cession, which stipulated that the territory ceded should be formed into free and equal commonwealths! Her theory would give from ten to twenty States in the then northwest territory instead of the present number. But in 1789 Virginia consented to a modification which would admit of not more than five nor less than three States. Ohio, Indiana and Illinois became these three States. To these were afterwards added Michigan and Wisconsin.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

Our land policy did not stop at the northwest and southwest territory. Our eager pioneers rediscovered only to bound over the Mississippi. In the language of Webster, they found empires held in solution in its yellow waters.

AFTER THE CONSTITUTION.

The next significant movement for the enlargement of our territory was the annexation of Louisiana, fourteen years after the Constitution had been adopted. The preliminary contest for the possession of the vast territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific would require a more elaborate discussion than the hour affords. The marks of French possession are perpetuated in the names of States, towns and waters from New Orleans to Saulte Ste. Marie. In vain His Britannic Majesty of England, and His most Christian Majesty of France, sought to fix irrevocably the boundary between Louisiana and the British possessions on the left and right of the Mississippi. In vain their adventurous subjects, with different laws, relig-

ions and customs, sought to conciliate the aborigines and make these lands permanently attractive to their several and peculiar immigrations.

The British population seemed to have had a larger colonial and staying capacity, and, therefore, France lost and Great Britain gained.

In the seventeenth century, Spain had quietly allowed France to take possession of the Mississippi river and the western half of the great valley, together with the exclusive possession of its mouth. Through various treaties and accommodations, and with great lack of foresight on our part, it was graciously arranged that the United States might enjoy the free navigation of the Mississippi into and from the sea. It is enough to know that by the operation of war and diplomacy Louisiana was ceded to the United States on April 30th, 1803, and that we succeeded to all the rights, respecting Louisiana, which belonged to both Spain and France.

This magnificent cession carried us West of the Mississippi, and North to the British possessions. But it was not until 1818, that the United States and England established a boundary between their territory on the north to the Rocky mountains; and not until later that the rest of the delimitation was completed.

FORESIGHT OF JEFFERSON.

We often praise the genius and patriotism of Jefferson for his draft of the great Declaration; but his purchase of Louisiana is a more conspicuous mark of his foresight and statesmanship.

In April, 1802, he wrote to our minister at Paris: "There is on the globe but one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural, habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility, it will ere long yield more than one-half of our produce and contain more than half of our inhabitants." He insisted that the occlusion of the Mississippi should cease; that there should be no delay as to our course; that we should not hesitate one moment; that we should hazard our existence for the maintenance of our rights.

The growth of population was so rapid at that time on what were called the "Western waters," and dependence upon the Mississippi was so great to over one-half million of our people at the beginning of the century—that we looked desperately to the mouth of the Mississippi for egress to the sea. At that time, of course, the Missouri valley was not so much in contemplation. The vast lands of Dakota and westward, far off to the mountain ranges of Montana, Idaho and Wash-

ington, overlooking the Pacific, were hardly then viewed, unless by the prophetic eye of the Seer of Monticello.

THE WISDOM OF THE PURCHASE.

The wisdom of the purchase led to a reconciliation with Spain, for that jealous power was in actual possession of Louisiana when the treaty was signed, although it had been legally transferred by Spain to France.

Some of our contemporary writers have imagined what Washington would now think of the progress of the greater West. Although he had an idea of the vastness of our imperial future; and although he traveled to the Ohio valley and projected water connections between the Atlantic and the Ohio river,—the development of the westernmost West, could he see it to-day, would confound his ken, give additional tremor to his compass, and astound his most extravagant fancy.

He was, in many ways, first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen; but his foresight as to our domain was limited by the Ohio river, or at most to the territory east of the Mississippi. It is Thomas Jefferson who was first, and will forever remain first, as the statesman and artificer of that policy which comprehended the lands between the Mississippi and the Pacific. His vision was not blinded by the beauty and richness of the Virginia and Ohio valleys. It revelled in the tilth and wealth of ages unborn, beyond the wildest dreams of the planters of the Atlantic coast. Besides, he made a practical provision as well as economic prevision as to the details of our lands and their settlement. His plan comprehended their division by townships, sections and quarter sections, and their sale to the settler.*

The Great West was to him more than a land for homes and farms and states. It was a charm, like an inspiration--

"Paradise and groves
Elysian Fortunate Fields—like those of old
Sought in the Atlantic main "

NATURAL RIGHTS OF MAN.

As the institutions which Jefferson assisted to unfold were the result of experience, and as that experience was inspired by

* "This plan of Jefferson's is still preserved in the national archives," says Mr. Bancroft, "in his own handwriting, and is as completely his own work as the Declaration of Independence."

(Bancroft's History of the Constitution vol. 1, p. 154.)

Bancroft remarks that "this land ordinance as amended from 1784 to 1788, definitively settled the character of the national land laws, which are still treasured up as one of the most precious heritages from the founders of the Republic."

"The customary loose locations of land were yielded, the bounds of each parcel were fixed; the mode of registry costless and simple and the form of conveyance concise and clear. Never was land offered to a poor man at less cost or with a safer title."

(History of the Constitution, vol. 1, p. 182.)

the natural rights of mankind, he foresaw in clear dream and solemn vision the social and political conditions of his own time, and blazed out a path for its future greatness and advancement. Although his ideas in the Declaration were abstract, they had the qualities of incentive, expansion, and adaptability for every future urgency and emergency of the Republic.

OUR CIVIL WAR AND THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

The question whether the Mississippi should flow from its remotest sources in the mountains through an alien country, was involved in our civil war. It was thought by the South at the beginning of that war, that rather than lose the Mississippi and its outlet, the Northwest would cleave to the South and part company with the East. What a delusion! And what a contest was that for the Mississippi. Thanks to Farragut and his wooden ships and iron men—it was a contest—whose ordeal settled forever the integrity of the valley and as a consequence—of the Union. That contest was closed forever by the death of the Confederacy.

Mr. Lincoln said, in August, 1863, that “the Father of Waters again runs unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest! Yet, not wholly to them. New England, the ‘Keystone’ and New Jersey have helped to hew our way right and left—to the Gulf.”

Doubtless, there are many veterans here in this remote land—which the main source of this great artery traverses—who did their patriotic part in making good the words of Lincoln. They made durable our possession of the Mississippi from its Itasca springs in Minnesota, and its mountain rivulets in Montana and Wyoming, to the Deltas and Bayous in the Sunny South.

The Mississippi once ours, partition became as impossible as the separation of color from the rainbow. Every drop of water that oozes from the little fountains of its smallest tributaries, holds in its crystal purity, the seven-hued covenant of Union. Every freshet of the Missouri, that brings down in solution Webster’s empire of free soil; every confluent from New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, and from the country below as well as above the Missouri—all the vast alluvial bottoms of the 35,000 tributaries which produce that trinity in the wealth of nations—cattle, corn and cotton—are eternal pledges of the fidelity of the people who produce and live by these riparian bounties, to the integrity of our imperial covenant.

Thus out of the philosophic forecast of Jefferson, illuminated in the missal of Independence, bound up with the jewelled clasp of the Ordinance of 1787, which dedicated the northwest

to freedom forever; out of the vellum, vital with law and liberty, upon which the established order was inscribed; out of the cessions of the elder States, under wise and generous conditions; out of the legislation of Congress in this wonderful Centennial year, by which the once remote Missouri domain is apparelled for stately independence; out of the sources of prescriptive and imprescriptible rights; nay, out of the very divine origin of all law—God himself, has leaped other new States—each panoplied, like another Minerva, for defense, yet bearing the olive as a type of wisdom and good will.

Ubere glebae atque potens armis!

DEDICATION OF LAND TO SETTLERS.

If our ancestors made institutions based on the broad doctrine of Federal domain and State equality, they did not anticipate that entire relief and comfort which are the result of the later acts as to the land in all their amplitude as we enjoy them. In nothing more striking has this been exemplified than in the homestead dedication of the public land.

In my early service as a legislator, I voted for the homestead law. It was an experiment and a departure. It may or may not interest you to know that I drew my reason for that vote out of "An Imaginary Commonwealth," by James Harrington, and dedicated to no less a personage than His Highness "The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland." The dedication was a satire, for at that time Oliver Cromwell was engaged in pulling on a velvet glove over his iron hand to despoil the land from its tillers.

In the "Introduction" to that work, the author speaks in praise of farms and houses of husbandry. He would maintain farming with "such a proportion of land as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty and no servile condition, and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners and not mere hirelings." And thus he would bring it about "that every poll would be fit for a helmet, so that there would be a great population and much strength; for where the Commonwealth consists of a country with a plough in the hands of the owner, there is produced its most innocent and steady genius."*

In pursuing this policy I never voted to give a dollar or an acre to corporations; I feared that it would make them in time "running sores." I was not a trustee to encumber the treasury or to despoil the settler of his heritage. I believed that the rifle which fought the Indian and the hardship of pioneer life might properly go hand in hand with the

* Introduction to Harrington's *Oceana*. Dublin Edition, A. D., 1699, pp. 34-5.

theodolite and compass which squared the sections and the policy which saved them for the plough.

SECTIONS FOR EDUCATION.

While on the one hand we give to the pioneer a recompense for his vigilance and energy, we dedicate for educational purposes, a portion of the lands in our budding commonwealths. It was a good promise of our future that a land surveyor like Washington blazed his way through the western wilderness of Virginia to the Ohio. It was a better promise, when speaking of the settlers of my native valley, having in view the ordinance of 1787, he said: "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum." And why? Because by the ordinance of 1887, "Religion, morality and education being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged."

It has been well said by a great teacher, that "Education is a companion which no misfortune can depress, no crime can destroy, no enemy can alienate, no despotism enslave. At home, a friend; abroad, an introduction; in solitude a solace, and in society an ornament. It chastens vice, it guides virtue, it gives at once grace and government to genius. Without it, what is man? A splendid slave, a reasoning savage."

With these advantages in mind, the Continental Congress on the 20th May, 1785, in ordaining the proper mode of disposing lands in the Western Territory, began the system, ever since pursued. It reserved section number 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools. That ordinance was re-enacted by the Federal Congress on the 26th March, 1804; and, as the States of the northwest came in, it was applied to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. In fact, it became a part of the fundamental law of these States. It will never be abrogated as to future States. It was enlarged by other enactments of Congress and the States. Since 1848, two sections in every township, sixteen and thirty-six, have been given to each incoming state and territory.

These gratuities have been sedulously guarded in their application to the new States admitted during the present year. They are a splendid endowment. Such a benefaction virtually says to the States: "If you would enjoy your rights and liberties, if you would have security and protection, if you would perpetuate your institutions, you must be both enlightened and virtuous." In the language of the preamble for the establishment of free schools in Illinois in 1825, there is this emphatic and thoughtful response: "As the mind of every citizen in the Republic is the common property of society and

constitutes a basis of its strength and happiness, it is, therefore, the peculiar duty of a free government to encourage and extend the improvement and cultivation of the energies of the whole people."

SCHOOL LANDS.

In this spirit, Dakota and her Sisters of the Northwest accept the enabling Acts and their accompanying largess of land from Congress. Each of you covenants with the Federal Government that Education shall be maintained and the common school system never uprooted.

Not merely sections sixteen and thirty-six, but every particle of your rich soil—reservations included—will in time, be utilized, as well for the markets of the world, as for that cause of education by which your internal policy and future glory will be safe-guarded.

In all that makes up educational and moral elevation, your schools and churches are fulfilling the promise of your rich endowments, reckoned at twenty-five millions of dollars. Congress has granted you a treasure which will be equal to that of any other State except Texas, whose schools are founded solely on State endowment.

A former Governor of Dakota, William A. Howard, with whom I served many years in Congress, in one of his messages sets forth the advantages of your great school fund: "If no sacrilegious hand," said he, "shall be permitted to squander any portion of this rich inheritance, Dakota will have a population second to no State for intelligence and virtue." His anathema speaks from the grave with no uncertain utterance. In the long vistas of time, it will stand as a guard against any infringement upon that sacred trust.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF OUR NEW STATES.

Other States may have more phenomenal physical scenery; other States may boast of greater natural advantages; but no States will ever surpass either of the future Dakotas in that charm which surrounds a region of quiet and lovely homes, adorned with the graces of education and religion.

Content as you may for railroad routes; struggle as you will for State capitals or county seats. Make your competition honorable and energetic for geographical, commercial or industrial centers and advantages. But, my friends, one thing the friends of the Dakotas, Montana and Washington demand, and that is, that your enactments for free schools and public enlightenment, shall be as sacred as your guarantees for personal and public liberty.

EMINENT DOMAIN.

Recent events in the "Indian Territory" show how important and advantageous to the settler is a fair start and an equal right to secure a portion of the public lands. That government would be, indeed, derelict which would allow either a violation of treaty or violation of law to gratify an excessive appetite for land. Under the recent provisions relating to the unoccupied and reserved lands of Dakota, it is to be hoped that the settlement and growth of your new State may not be hindered, but enhanced; and that every portion of the soil within your limits may be occupied under conditions of good faith toward the red man, and fair play toward the white.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the settlements on both sides of the Missouri River, amid every possible disaster of drought, fire, tempest, savagery, treachery and warfare, were each and all made by the energy of white men. By your own rare energy, within eighteen years, the yield of civilized industry has risen there to fabulous proportions. It is, therefore, hardly a problem for social science to solve, whether these lands should be held by races who cannot or will not work them at all, or if at all, not advantageously, while the eager and diligent white race is only too ready to test the fullest capacity of your peerless soil by the alchemy of sun, water, plough and civilization. Vattel confirms the superior title to the soil in the civilized man who will till it.

FAIR PLAY IN THE SETTLEMENT OF LAND.

The wisdom which acquired the vast territory west of the Mississippi was not entirely heedful in providing special modes for its settlement.

Am I asked: why the Indian titles to an immense area in Dakota are not extinguished?

I answer: The negotiations are progressing, or will progress happily, and the recent experience at Oklahoma will be utilized. Oklahoma had less than two millions of acres. The Sioux reserve, about to be brought into market, has over five times that area. The pressure of immigration has proceeded and will proceed orderly, and the homestead, pre-emption and other laws will be adequate.

To Senator Dawes, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Chairman Peele, of Arkansas, are due thanks for that Congressional action by which, hand in hand with your accession to the Union, your State is to be blessed with the accession of a grand area of territory, and future generations benefited by its opening to the homestead and the plough.

THE RESERVATIONS.

Volumes have been written of the history of the many tribes of the Sioux, which are now limited to their present reser-

vations. It must be remembered that these tribes, not long since, owned the lands, and swept over the whole country of Minnesota and Dakota. Their history, as we have it in French tradition, begins and is co-eval with the English revolution of 1640. It comprehends the perpetual warfare among the tribes, the trading adventures, our own treaties which have been made and broken since the first was made with them, on the 19th of July, 1815, and all the remarkable incidents connected with your later annals of Dakota, and with which you are familiar. The later accounts begin with the discovery of gold in the Black Hills. They record the struggle for supremacy between the indigenés and the immigrants. They comprehend the heroism of Custer and his gallant Seventh Cavalry, and the gallantry of Sibley, Surry, Terry and others in many bloody conflicts. The effort so often repeated by civilization was ended, after the method of the ancient Hebrews, who conquered and held the promised aboriginal land. Fate may be hard upon the savage occupants ; but after all, under the laws of evolution and of Congress, the superior civilization when encountering the inferior must succeed. It is inevitable that the superior must encompass, control, absorb, and in the end, civilize and elevate the weaker race. It is the philosophy of the history of social advancement, under the Divine order ; it is for us to apply it in the true spirit of humanity.

THE MUTABILITY OF INSTITUTIONS.

Our own age proves the mutability of the most imperial of institutions. Their changes are links in the endless chain of Providence ; and, to a philosophic observer, they move by a law as fixed as that which makes the decay of Autumn the herald of Spring. They come by the same law which controls the constellations in their endless courses. The records of territorial expansion and contraction, with the movements and changes of races, will likewise ever go on. The aborigines of the American continent are not exempt from the influences of the guiding star of progress.

While manufactures, commerce, the arts and intermediary elements of civilized society may be hailed to encourage and elevate—that race is richest, proudest, most permanent, most Republican and most Democratic which has had leaders such as Washington, who were racy of the soil and whose domestic sentiments were associated with the fruits of the earth.

SUPERIOR CIVILIZATION ;—THE FOUNDATION OF OUR GREATNESS.

The greatness of this country is based on the broad foundation of our public land. We look askance at a landed aristocracy ; we distrust alien control ; we dislike nominal occupancy ; we tolerate no reserved or laggard indifference to its

permanent utilization, nor the removal of the toiler. This is no new idea. It is based on Holy Writ itself. It was never more prevalent than now in the movement of all nations who have risen in greatness whether by the subjugation and weakness of alien races or better methods. It must hereafter, be accompanied by justice to the weaker race, and always ensure a fair tenure to the actual tillers of the land. If the United States have failed in some notable instances in these requirements—the general drift of our policy toward the aboriginal occupants has been far in advance of any other nation.

THE SIOUX INDIANS.

It is not to be understood that the Sioux and the tribes here, are lacking in a sort of speculative smartness, inspired and aided by benevolent advice. The Federal Government has not had to deal, of late years, with Indians who had no sagacity for a trade, and no appreciation of soil. On the contrary, although never tilling the soil, they are ever ready for quieting such title as the whites have acquired,—for a consideration. Since the bloody Sioux warfare of 1862, in Minnesota and Dakota, subsequent events, indicate that at last a system has been adopted by which the Indian titles may be peacefully acquired, and the valleys, so rich and fruitful, on the west side of the Missouri and elsewhere may, in good faith, without harm to the red man and with advantage to the white man, be rescued from their present useless condition, for the higher economics of cultivated life.

The people of South Dakota, in which lies the largest reservation,—56,000 square miles, as large as Michigan,—are to be congratulated. They will soon have an amicable ending of the conferences, and an increase of immigration in consequence of the calm, clear, sagacious policy which has obtained with respect to their domain.

LOVE OF LAND.

You cannot eradicate from the American the love of land. By the laws of heredity there is an instinct for the dignity of possessing the soil. This fact is attested, whether by the holders of the poorest soeter in Norway, or the minutest tracklet in Picardy or Prussia, the biggest bonanza farms of North Dakota, the lordly acres of Scotland and Hungary, or the cattle ranches of Wyoming, Texas and Colorado. It is exaggerated in the American. He combines in himself the avariciousness for acres of all the races. You may say that the Mexican is an exception. Some one has said, looking at the slovenly bodies of the peon, that the soil is more attached to him than he to the soil. This may be true, for soap is a legal tender and a medium of exchange in some parts of Mex-

ico, it so precious and scarce. The Sioux also, though a nomad, has a like attachment to the soil, which is said to be mutual; though dissolved—only at long intervals—by a supposititious bath! Mrs. Custer relates this fact of one of the tribe, but she adds that he took the bath by the agency of his wife—*facit per alium facit per se*.

Captain Clark, in his description of the aborigines whom he found upon the Upper Missouri in 1508, records one of their customs: They struck their weapon on the earth three times, and, like the old lady, swore by the "land's sake." Their reluctance to part with their lands, although using them only as hunting grounds, indicates something of the spirit of their ancestors and their nomadic congeners in Asia.

EARLY TURKISH LAND TENURES.

If I may draw an illustration from the Orient, and more particularly from the history of the founder of Turkish power, I would commend a study of the sturdy herdsman who came out of the heart of Asia and for many centuries held the world in thrall. It was not by the Koran, not by the cimeter, not by the virtues that distinguished them that the Byzantine empire fell before them, and that the ancient lands of the Greek and Armenian Christians were occupied and controlled by the descendants of Othman. Their land laws gave impetus to the amazing rapidity with which the Seljukian Turk became absolute master of the East, even up to the gates of Vienna. If history be read aright, it will be found that the attractive force by which the Turkish empire was enlarged and welded, was the equity and moderation with which the Suzerain lord treated alike both Mussulman and Christian; and, especially with reference to the liberal tenure of land by which when the crop was sown the harvest was assured to the tiller.

Chivalrous heroism and inexorable justice marked the career of that power which founded a stupendous dynasty from a few horsemen and warriors beyond the Caspian. The head of that dynasty, when he died, left neither gold nor silver—only a salt cellar, an embroidered caftan, a new turban and a flag; and as a sign of his love of the land, a yoke of oxen and some horses and sheep of the choice stock which still pasture at the foot of Mount Olympus, near the ancient capital of Broussa.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

Those nations have survived the longest where the State regarded agriculture and a just tenure of land. When Sir Thomas Moore conceived his Utopia, he allowed no person to be a citizen who was ignorant of farming; they partly learned it at school and partly by practice. His ideal was founded on real estate.

The Prince of that ideal realm is described as a man who never aspired to an office, for, in that case, he was sure never to compass it. Let the Sovereign American make a note of this. The people paid all the marks of honor the more freely because none were exacted of them. They were simple in their habits and had no distinction either of garment or of crown. The ruler was only distinguished by a sheaf of corn which he carried before him!

In that ideal commonwealth, thus organized, every man sought to build up not his own wealth, but the wealth of others. Its citizens believed that in pursuing the public good they were showered with individual blessings; and they made, as in the "New Atlantis," their chief symbol of honor, a jewel in the figure of an ear of wheat! Truly, a vision of your own Dakota!

It may not be inappropriate for me to refer to some observations of the Orient, where I sojourned for a time; for the early lessons of Ottoman rule are now reversed. The mode of burdening farms with taxes renders it difficult there to cultivate the soil. The Ottoman empire is a suggestive antithesis of our own land. Its peasants are harrowed, instead of the soil. The best intentions of a good ruler fail to give contentment and happiness to an industrious and hospitable people.

OUR DEBT TO THE ORIENT PAID.

Our Constitution is so elastic, our ideas so expansive, and our Government is so fittingly moulded, that the contrast with this Ottoman exhibit is a recurrent reminder of the worthlessness of despotic control and the worthiness of liberal institutions. If the East be the land of religious faith, ours is the land of physical forces. The faith we have adopted and the forces we have applied by mechanic invention; or as it has been well sung by the poet:

Sceptres and thrones the morning realms have tried ;
Earth for the people kept her sunset side.
Arts, manners, creeds, the teeming Orient gave ;
Freedom, the gift that freights the reflux wave,
Pays with one priceless pearl the guerdon due,
And leaves the Old World debtor to the New.

So that whatever obligation mankind may owe to the East for its Brahmic, Hebraic and Christian religions, and for the art, law and literature which made Egypt, Judea, Greece and Rome the soul of the ancient world, the West, through America, has more than discharged the debt; and as time elapses it will roll up a vast surplus, which its people will heedfully and happily distribute.

A CENTURY OF NATIONAL GROWTH.

I am not a praiser of the time that has passed. A thousand appliances which art, science and humanity give for our guidance, reveal the fact that we possess all that makes up a well-equipped commonwealth and a social order, better than anything ever known in history.

The people who settled the Northwest Territory—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois—had not your advantages. They roughed it with fever and ague, quinine and whiskey, log cabins, frontier wars and domestic deprivations. In our time, that avatar of the new civilization—the locomotive—pioneers the way, and emigration follows; so that in your own territory you have every day an example of the advanced condition of our whole country and our living present, as distinguished from the dead past of a hundred years ago.

JEFFERSON'S IDEAS.

My friends, the institutions based upon the Republican ideas which Jefferson taught, not alone in the Declaration and in the Ordinances which he championed, but by his majestic faith in humanity, give emphasis to this celebration. I have said that we cannot too highly praise his philosophic foresight in looking beyond the Appalachian chain which in his day hemmed in the original colonies, to the banks of the Mississippi—and even beyond that mighty river—so that future generations might breathe a more exhilarating atmosphere, and our freedom have a wider and purer azure as the dome of a magnificent future.

PHYSICAL AND AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS.

Physical progress and the application of steam and other motors upon sea and land have made transportation and immigration easier. Immigrants arrive at Castle Garden at the rate of eighteen knots an hour. The food supply of the world has not only been greatly increased in the ratio of population, but better distributed; and no other country shows so well in this regard as our own. The annual income from agriculture in the United States was estimated by the present Superintendent of the Census, in 1880, at three billions of dollars. In this revenue we still lead every nation of the world. In forest wealth, in the precious metals, in iron and steel, in manufactures of all kinds, the present decade has been the great progressive epoch of our history.

CORN.

It is impossible on an occasion like this to show the poetic and columnal grandeur of your fields of grain, the product of sky, soil and rain. From one object we can learn all. Take

corn as the object-lesson—the representative American product. It will also furnish its tasseled beauty and golden utilities for art, commerce and economy. There are plumes as well as ears in the battalions of maize in your peaceful fields. But we must return to statistics—to figures of arithmetic, not rhetoric, to show the benefactions of corn land, not only to our own but to alien peoples.

Last year our corn crop was two billions of bushels. It was raised upon 75,672,763 acres. It would require three millions of cars with over sixty thousand locomotives in a train to draw it to the seaboard. It would take a year to pass such a train through Chicago.

Talk of your corn palaces! Why, such a procession of corn cars belts the globe. After leaving seed for many millions of acres, our last year crop gives to each inhabitant thirty bushels! I am not here to say how he consumes it; whether in the solid or liquid state, whether roasted on the ear, or taken in pork. But one thing remains to be considered, and that is, that only four per cent. of this immense crop reaches a foreign market! The subtle chemistry which makes out of our rich loam and smiling fields, food for man and fodder for cattle, fails of its perfect purpose, unless our market is enlarged so as to give the farmer his merited reward, and so as to prevent the product from rotting in the rows, becoming a drug on our market, or being burnt for fuel.

OUR PRAIRIE TERRITORY.

Nowhere has advance been more conspicuous than over the great plains of the West, including the new States.

Especially is this evinced by the statistics connected with the ten prairie States and the Territories. Their population has leaped up from fifty-one thousand in 1800, to twenty millions in 1880, and to this will be added, in 1890, an increase of over fifty per cent!

Great as was the anticipation of Jefferson when he acquired Louisiana, great as was the hope of those who explored our Territories nearly a century ago, no one at that time could surmise, much less anticipate, the great extent and value of the heritage to which we were born. As well might Captain Clark when hovering in sight of the Black Hills, and reaching out and following with his mind the streams that came from them to irrigate the plain, have guessed that there would be taken out of those hills, thirty millions of precious metals in a decade. Who could have dreamed in 1800 that these, then uncultured lands of the West, now known as the "Prairie States," would produce in 1880, 326,000,000 bushels of wheat out of the 460,000,000 raised in the United States that year? Who could have then anticipated the great influx of immigration, the

enlargement of commercial facilities, the inventions of mechanism, the prosperity of all classes, and, especially, our extraordinary agricultural progress since the beginning of the century? Who could have believed that our educational systems, with their largesses from the treasuries of the States and the lands of the Federal Government, should have been so prized and nurtured as adjuncts of civilization? Who could have imagined that so soon the hardships of the pioneer, the dangers from Indian massacre, and the difficulties of breaking up the vast prairies and of building convenient roads for the wagon and the horse, would be obviated, and that so soon your harvest would be golden and your civilization fill the highest aims of domestic comfort and intellectual progress?

WATER.

Nor should it be forgotten, in this review, that the Federal Government is looking beyond the fruitful valleys and prairies of the West to those arid plains where the water, through irrigation, may be made to fructify the soil. Could Jefferson have dreamed that this charm of water over soil would so soon be in the scope of Federal legislation or that Federal legislation would direct the clouds and their rainfalls?

Not less indispensable for husbandry than the soil and the sun is the water. Older than the pyramids is the art of constructing conduits. In Egypt, Judea, Mesopotamia, Persia, India and China, we find the signs of that immemorial custom which makes the appropriation of water for irrigation paramount. Ancient America took the lead in her aqueducts. Even superior to the riparian rights of the common law, because of higher antiquity, and for the highest reason and the most beneficent results,—is the doctrine now universally approved by the courts and born even of the common law of moist little Britain, viz: that all right in water of non-navigable streams, must be subservient to tillage. The laws of Congress apply this doctrine to the public domain, and the courts interpret it rigidly in the interest of arable and irrigable lands.

ADVANCEMENT OF DAKOTA.

This concerns the local material growth in your own charming valley and prospering territory.

Ten years ago, the present Superintendent of the Census, Hon. Robert P. Porter, said that "We might expect that the magnificent water power and the rich soil of southeastern Dakota will form a strong agricultural and manufacturing State." But in his wildest dreams, this accomplished economist could not have surmised that the Dakota of 1860 which had a cereal product of about 25,000 bushels, and in 1870 of about 422,000, and in 1880 of over 7,000,000, would leap up in the past year to the

enormous quantity of 53,000,000 bushels of wheat, 21,000,000 bushels of corn, and 37,000,000 bushels of oats, not to speak of potatoes, rye, barley, hay, etc., which the last taxation from the Agricultural Department reveals.* Sanguine observers prophecy that your wheat crop this year will reach 85 millions of bushels. The conditions are favorable and we are ready for anything to make bread plentiful! These figures may be cold to the eye of economy, but they have epic grandeur when you associate with them the inspiring majesty of the mountains, the magnificent breadth of the plains, the opulence of the mines, the grandeur of the forests, and the sublime growth and glory of new communities conquering the rigor of nature and renewing the vigor of national growth and State independence, by contact with the earth,—which has always been to industry a generous mother.

What an immense area is yet to be filled by an industrious population! Were your Territory as densely settled as Holland, it would contain nearly half the present population of the United States.

There is nothing in all the marvels of the wonderful census concerning our decennial or centennial growth, which can equal that of your own territory. It is impossible on an occasion of

* To-day there are in Dakota 250,000 horses, 250,000 milch cows, 800,000 cattle, 230,000 sheep, 600,000 hogs. They are worth \$50,000,000, and to this grand fortune a 10 per cent. accretion must be added every year. At this moment a harvest is growing, with every promise of happy realization, of 35,000,000 bushels of corn, 70,000,000 of wheat, 5,000,000 of flax, 10,000,000 of barley, 50,000,000 of oats and 5,000,000 of potatoes! And of the imperial domain stretching from a central point 200 miles north, east, south and west of the 96,000,000 acres that constitute these States, barely 7,000,000—less than one-thirteenth—have felt the harrow's touch! Everywhere, in social life, in religious life, in political life, a perfect and liberal organization exists. Wherever there is a settlement the spires of half a dozen churches rise and the bells of half a dozen schools sound out. Crime is scarcely heard of in Dakota. It has nothing that even faintly resembles a criminal class. There are but two prisons in the two States that really look like prisons, and the inmates of these are only luckless creatures who couldn't make things go, and did a little pilfering to keep the wolf off. I suppose you think this sounds like a fairy tale? Well, I think so myself, but it is all the truth—*L. E. Q., Correspondent N. Y. Tribune, June 8, 1889.*

this kind to be very minute or elaborate in illustration of this assertion.*

ETCHINGS OF PIONEER HISTORY.

You have had many vicissitudes since the original purchase ; first, as a portion of the old Missouri territory ; then with a separate organization in 1861, along with Wyoming and a portion of Montana ; then in 1863, when Montana was separated from you and formed the original Territory of Idaho, and then, in 1868, when Wyoming was formed, cutting Dakota down to its present broad limits.

Afterwards exploring expeditions were sent to the Black Hills and mapped the country. General Custer's reports of

* AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF DAKOTA, MONTANA AND WASHINGTON TERRITORIES FOR 1887-8.

From the Agricultural Department, June 4, 1889.

Products.	Quantity produced in 1887.	Average yield pr. acre.	Number of acres in each crop.	Value pr unit of quantity	Total valuation.
DAKOTA.					
Indian corn...bushels.	20,992 000	33.0	636,120	\$0 35	\$7,347,200
Wheat do	52,406,000	14.3	3,664,737	52	27,251,120
Rye do	218,000	13.0	16,750	43	93,740
Oats do	37,266,000	31.4	1,186,800	25	6,316,500
Barley do	4,154,000	18.3	227,000	40	1,661,600
Buckwheat .. do	63,000	14.5	4,350	57	35,910
Potatoes..... do	5,209,000	105.0	49,608	43	2,239,870
Hay..... tons.	607,750	1.3	467,500	4 06	2,467,465
Totals.....			6,252,865		\$50,413,405
MONTANA.					
Indian corn...bushels	25,000	27.5	908	\$0 60	\$15,000
Wheat do	1,760,000	18.0	97,786	76	1,337,600
Oats do	1,866,000	31.0	60,180	45	839,700
Barley do	78,000	22.6	3,458	56	43,680
Potatoes..... do	491,000	110.0	4,466	64	314,240
Hay tons	236,009	1.3	181,545	13 50	3,186,122
Totals			348,343		\$5,736,342
WASHINGTON.					
Indian corn...bushels.	74,000	21.9	3,375	\$0 67	\$49,580
Wheat..... do	8,345,000	18 0	463,610	67	5,591,150
Rye do	18,000	12 4	1,454	76	13,680
Oats do	3,369,000	37.0	91,045	44	1,482,360
Barley. do	777,000	25.0	31 089	49	380 730
Potatoes do	1,218,000	107.0	11,381	45	548,100
Hay tons	287,634	1.3	221,257	9 60	2,761,286
Totals.....			823,211		\$10,826,886

gold there, made in the previous year—1874—were confirmed. You know the history of those days of placer mining in the gulches, and outside, the ordeals of fire and water, and Indian hostility, which the gold hunters experienced. You know the attempt of the Government to prevent these expeditions, and the final abandonment of the attempt. You know the opulent results of quartz mining since that time. There are men here who, no doubt, have had experience in that connection.

THE LINES OF EARLY EXPLORATION.

In your rapid development, the lines of travel of the early explorers are almost obliterated. The banks of the rivers have been changing with the seasons. The very fauna and flora are passing away. But the traditions connected with the Red Man are not altogether extinct, for the muse of Longfellow has thrown a poetic glamour over the land of the Dakotas, the doorway of the west wind, the portals of the sunset and the home of handsome women! The savage wars are all too fresh in the memory of the living to evoke the muse of poetry or history, and to make a romance of their dark and bloody annals. The devoted wife of Custer, with a Rembrandt pencil and in her own breezy style, tender and true, has painted the adventures of her hero and his troopers, amidst the scenes of romantic exploration. The "Black Hills" cast their "gloomy light" over her blithe spirit, when they shrouded her life with clouds which weep a "loss forever new." God asked her to walk on alone and in the shadow.*

I cannot do more than refer to these later years. Many of you have seen the changes which have taken place since the brave Custer brothers were massacred by the red fiends. Other more fortunate, but less famous Generals, with "Boots and Saddle," scouts and skill, have since subdued the treacherous foe with whom we now make persuasive talks and doubtful treaties. Still it may not be inappropriate to recall the earliest and luckiest adventure of our Government when Dakota and Montana were—nay, all the region of old Louisiana—was *terra incognita*.

TRACKS OVER THE NORTHWEST.

If I could place before you a map of the territory west of the Mississippi and compare it with a map of to-day, the marvel would at a glance stand revealed. I have had such a map before me as I reflected upon this retrospect. It is a map of "Lewis and Clark's track across the western portion of North America from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, made by

* Mrs. Custer's "Boots and Saddle," concluding paragraph.

order of the Executive of the United States in 1804-'5-'6, and copied by Samuel Lewis from the original drawing of William Clark."

MACKENZIE'S TRACK.

Mackenzie, in 1789,—made a diagonal track across the continent. He confirmed the northwest passage; but declared it impracticable. His route to the Pacific was in 1793. In his previous route to the Arctic—when he baptized the great river after his own name, he hugged the boundary of our possessions. He passed within a few miles of the Red river of the north; and his map shows that he made a shrewd guess as to the bend of the "Missesourie."

"According to the Indian accounts," he writes—"it runs to the south of west; so that if it were to be considered as the Mississippi,—no western line could strike it."

A hundred years ago on the Fourth of July, the sun set at or about ten and rose before two when Mackenzie and his brave company were having a talk with the Slave-Lake Indians about the terrible dragons of the north who would devour him. He defied auguries and laughed at incantations; and then proceeded northward. On the 10th of July, 1789, he saw the sun shining at midnight over realms which may some day beckon your children to fresh enterprises.

His little light over these north-western lands, provoked further inquiry.

LEWIS AND CLARK'S TRACK.

It was a part of Mr. Jefferson's plan, after the acquisition of Louisiana, to explore the river Missouri from its confluence with the Mississippi to its source, and thence to cross the mountains by the shortest route to the first navigable water on the western side, and follow it as far as the shores of the Pacific. Congress authorized such a measure on the 18th of January, 1803. The Message of Jefferson in 1806 presents to Congress the results of that action in the report of Captain Clark, and his second in command, Captain Lewis.*

These brave and sagacious men obtained an accurate knowledge of the new territory with a view to the establishment of comity and commerce with the Indians. They entered the Missouri on the 14th of May, 1804, and on the 1st of November following they wintered near the Mandan towns, 1,609 miles above the mouth of the river. I need not say that Bismarck does not appear upon the older map, for the German Chancellor had not then entered upon his career of iron and blood. His fame had not become continental, much less world wide.

* Travels to the Source of the Missouri, &c., by Captains Lewis and Clark. Three volumes. London edition, 1815.

It is curious to follow these explorers in boats,—their sail and tow line route over and around sand bars, passing bluffs and Indian villages, and places even then not altogether unknown to the French and Canadian traders. Is it not a romance to follow them far up into the mountains where now white citizens are preparing constitutions for statehood? These adventures are detailed with a methodical and painstaking particularity, which I can compare to no other itinerary unless it be Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Subsisting on hunting, when not on the verge of starvation, fighting the savage foe, when not smoking the pipe of peace—improvising canoes for rivers and buying horses for portages—they reach the great Divide and pass safely to the sea, at the mouth of the Columbia. The company consisted of some forty persons. They had many bales of *impedimenta*, such as clothing, working utensils, flint locks, powder and ball, and Indian presents. Among the latter were richly laced coats and cocked hats for chiefs, flags, knives, tomahawks, beads, mirrors, handkerchiefs, paints, and such other articles as would please the savage taste.

Their keel boat had one large sail and twenty-two oars. It was provided with a bulwark for defense. They had also two *perioques* or open oar boats.

Amid fog, rain and storms, they found themselves, about the last of August, 1804, among the Sioux, who received them with great éclat. In fact these Indians carried some of the party in great honor upon an illustrated buffalo robe, and presented them with a fat dog fricassee, of which they partook heartily, and found it well flavored. The wampum was interchanged. There was a frequent rivalry of the bucks with bow and arrow for beads. They had dances to the grating music of the tambourine, with pebbles in it.

INDIAN ORATORY.

There were orators among the Indians in that day who had the eloquence if not the brevity and modesty of civilization. "I have listened," said White Crane, "to what our father's words were yesterday. I am a young man and do not wish to talk much. My fathers have made me a Chief. I had much sense before, but now I think I have more than ever." This is an example for our recent councils; for his speech was brief.

It may strike the reader of this narrative that the "talk" of these Sioux indicate great good will toward the white man, and, especially, toward the Great Father. To be sure this good will was now and then interrupted by an attempt to kill, or the larceny of a horse or a hatchet. These incidents, together with sickness, lack of food, detentions and troubles, were untoward; but, on the whole, the expedition was well managed. It revealed glimpses of the riches, not as we now

know them; but even on a superficial view it revealed promises of a Wonder Land, of which even Jefferson had hardly dreamed.

PIONEERS WITH SPIRITS.

The Indians were in distress then, as they have been ever since. They were anxious that their squaws should be cared for, and that something more than medals should be bestowed. They wanted clothes and food; they wanted powder and ball; and one of them, known as "the Half Man," who said that he was no warrior—seemed anxious that Captain Clark should supply them with some of their Great Father's milk, meaning whiskey.

Why not? Many of our pioneer adventures smack of a jollity hardly "prohibitory."

As early as 1716, Governor Spottswood of Virginia had a famous ride along with some fifty gentlemen, and their retainers, rangers and red men, to the Shenandoah valley. It was then thought that the Alleghanies were impassable; but the rollicking party took their way westward and scaled the Blue Ridge. They admired the land so much that they not only had their horses shod with golden horseshoes, set with jewels, which had been prepared in London for these enterprising dudes of the old frontiers of Virginia, but, the Chronicle says, that they got the men together, loaded their arms, drank the King's health in champagne and fired a volley,—then they drank the Prince's health in Burgundy and fired a volley,—then they drank the health of the rest of the royal family in claret, and fired a volley, and then the Governor's health in native whisky, and fired a volley.* How many more volleys they fired, and how they were fired back into Virginia, is not related. They inscribed upon their horseshoes the legend: *Sic juvat transcendere montes*, and fired a volley. Then the Governor accented his jubilation by advising the Crown in a state paper that the pass was feasible and "that from ye western side of one of the small mountains w'ch I saw, Lake Erie is very visable, w'ch shows how easy a matter it is to gain possession of these lakes!"

Whether this remarkable account is due to the mixture of the liquors which darkened the vision or the smoke of the volleys which befogged so as to magnify it, the muse of history has not determined. It may have been the impurity of the atmosphere and liquors combined. Mrs. Custer has said that the air of new territories always adds a cipher or two to stories which one hears in the States.

As an offset to this narrative and to show that the prohibition question is by no means new in this neighborhood,—it is recorded that there was one tribe called the "Ricaras,"—since abbreviated in name and numbers, who lived near the mouth of the Cheyenne, to whom spirituous liquors were dis-

*E. L. Hinsdale's Old Northwest, 1888, p. 17.

gusting. They were offered whisky under the supposition that it was quite as agreeable to them as to the other Indians; but they actually refused it with this sensible remark: "They were surprised that their Great Father should present them a liquor which would make them fools, and that no man could be their friend who tried to lead them into such follies."

TO RESUME THE NARRATIVE.

The first tribe which Lewis and Clark met in this vicinage was the Yanktons. They lived upon your own beautiful river, then known as the Jaques and subsequently as the James. It has since degenerated into "the Jim." They were described as stout, well proportioned, having dignity and boldness. They were equipped with bear's claws and feathers. There was an association of brave young men among them who had caucused and vowed never to retreat before any danger, or aid their natural valor by any artifice. I will cite you an instance of their heroism: They were crossing the Missouri on the ice. A hole lay immediately in their course. The foremost of the band disdained to go around it; he went straight forward and into it. He was lost; but the rest considered it unnecessary to follow his example. I rehearse this adventure as a political analogue connected with the division and admission of Dakota; I leave you to make the application. Of course you will not apply it to any member of Congress, certainly not to your delegate Mr. Gifford, nor to your agents at Washington who labored for your statehood. Their good work is apparent and they survive to rejoice over its accomplishment.

THE MISSOURI VALLEY.

There is a sameness in the old descriptions of the Missouri Valley. There is the same prairie and chateaux, the same kind of tributaries, with the same bends, bluffs, snags and sand bars, the same sort of Indians with their red pipe and ashen stem, the same dances, the same curious burial of their dead in the trees, and the same worship of stone imagery, the same mode of naming Chiefs after some conspicuous quality, the same love of smoking kinnekanick and drinking whiskey, and the same grasshoppers and prickly pear. There is the same vegetation—sycamore prevalent on the shores—grape, plum and pawpaw in the woods. There is an iteration of animated nature, the porcupine, beaver, horned sheep, elk, jack-rabbit, wild goose, duck, swan, brant, pelican, plover, curlew, magpie and whippoor-will. There is the same amusing *petits chiens* in their underground commonwealth, with their perpetually whistling bark. Same varieties of wolf, deer and bear; but everywhere the same perils from drought, burnt

prairie, grizzlies, rattlesnakes and Indians, relieved by the ever beautiful grass in the autumn, lifting its green blades above the charred ground, and the grand mountains of the Shoshone land. The plains were enlivened by herds of fleet antelope and bulging bison, the latter in such multitudes that the narrators "cannot exaggerate in saying that at a single glance we saw twenty thousand."

INDIAN HABITS.

The habits of the Indians, perhaps, at that time were not unlike those of a later day: Their mode of cooking, of carrying the water in the paunches of animals, their wooden bowls, their lodges, their moccasins and leggings, the vanity of both sexes in their gaudy dress and the painted horror of their bodies in the dance, their bread of corn and beans, their pumpkins, squashes, watermelons, their drudging women and lazy men, their tender of squaws who persecuted the explorers with equivocal civilities, and their bloody revenges upon each other. The same experience followed the travellers all through the Dakota country until they reached the land of the Mandans.

The narrative describes the plain and rugged country between the Red river of the north and the Missouri, as loosely occupied by a great nation whose primitive name is "Darcota." They were early known to the French as "the People of the Lake." They became sub-divided into many tribes. These had a similarity of language. They made annual encampments on the James river, as common ground, for friendship and trade. *Quantum mutatis!* How much has that James Valley changed since that era of savagery and poverty?

THE JAMES RIVER VALLEY.

But yesterday your fruitful Valley was whitened with the bones of the buffalo. Now it is an ideal farming area. It is a lesser Nile region, without its overflow. Artesian wells give water where the sun once made drought perennial. The water-power of your matchless valley is as yet immeasurable by ordinary mechanical standards. It is so prevalent that your people will utilize its specific gravity for the diversity of their industries. When its undiminished flow and steady pressure from the bosom of the earth are properly harnessed by mechanism, it will give its lucid lymph to make grasses for stock and lawns for beautiful homes. Its sunless currents, through the ingenuity of man, will enhance the rich soil by quenching its thirst. Fabulous are the wasted energies of your water power, as we count it by the standard horse-power of mechanics; but still more marvelous are the real energies of the soil which it would fructify.

This beautiful and fruitful valley of the James may not be as redolent of historic association and traditions as another James river of the colonial days; but deeper than historical or traditional incident are Dakota's pure springs under a magic more enchanting than that of Aladdin, which leap from your modern Artesium.

We can follow in fancy the thousands of miles of railroad bearing your garnered wealth of wheat, corn and flax to the seaboard; and see it like one great golden sheaf before which all the other sheafs of our Commonwealth of Israel make obeisance without jealousy.

Let me return a moment to your resources. The Dakota Territory harvests one-thirtieth part of the world's wheat crop. Her growth in 1888 was 52,600,000 bushels, of which North Dakota alone supplied 36,000,000 upon less than one-twentieth of her soil. Besides, the quality enhances the quantity, so far as money goes. This wheat has the command of every market, at the highest prices, and it is grown at the least expense, and has great facility for transportation. Your one hundred millions of bushels of wheat, corn and oats came from less than seventy thousand farms.

No more significant or stately figures, no more splendid result has ever been shown upon any land upon earth, not excepting the fields of Russia or the Valley of the Nile. A vast proportion of land is still uncultivated, in spite of the great bonanza farms of the Red River Valley, which take up but a small portion of the great waterless inland lake area of ten thousand square miles. Your fruitful soil invites an overflowing population in the East to remunerative labor.

I have seen the extensive wheat fields of Russia and Egypt, have reviewed the accounts of East Indian cultivation, and French and English economy in farming methods, and can avouch that, although you may find competition and prohibitory tariffs, you may rest in peace that nothing, save civil contention and national catastrophe can prevent you from holding the markets of the world.

What a contrast is the farming within your boundary with that of other lands. First, you subjugate the prairie, which is stoneless and treeless. You break the sod, you utilize the grass roots, you backset them. Your fallows enrich the soil. Another spring comes, you plough them deeply, and you harrow. Your press drills sow the seed, the sun shines and embroiders the face of fields in emerald. Then your golden harvest comes with its cutting and binding. The threshing follows. You have swinging stackers for the straw, and you have bundle teams, and grain teams, and bulk wagons and elevators; and, lo! the land returns manifold to you in the priceless reward of the well spent husbandry.

TIMBER LANDS.

Nature has provided upon your east and north forests of timber, and waters to bear it through the gateway of your territory. Though still held in "reserve," these timber lands, containing ten billions feet of pine oak, ash and elm, will soon become the aider of your varied industries.

The laws applicable to your land, as well as the refinements of machinery, have enabled the settler to establish himself with house, barn and farm and all the implements belonging to agriculture with a comfort, stability and success never before vouchsafed to any people, and never before realized with so much promptitude.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR INDUSTRY.

Your population is thrifty and active. Its employment is not built upon the opportunities and chances which belong to mining altogether, nor is it subject to the vicissitudes and temptations of trade and commerce. Your wealth is drawn from the generous bosom of nature. The results of your harvests have attracted millions of capital to your manufacturing and transportation centres. Your foundries and factories, homes and churches, schools and colleges, indicate the determined character of your people. They vindicate the policy of freedom which, under favoring conditions, enables your lands to be settled and your mines to be worked. Your prosperity is not the result of "booming," nor are your railroads altogether built upon the bounties of the Government. Your prosperity is stable because it is not feverish nor eruptive, but fixed as the principles upon which our institutions are based. If there is anything locally injurious, you will rectify it by the machinery of a popular State Government. If there is anything fleeting and temporary, you will soon have that maturity and agency which can legislate, not for a day, but for all time. Already you can feel the throb of your own body politic as it begins to pulsate to-day at Sioux City.

MINING.

Turn your eyes to the Black Hills of the West. The record started with over four millions a year of gold and silver in 1881. It soon became a steady product. According to Mr. Day's latest returns,* it has continued at about three millions yearly. In the last year it was estimated at \$2,900,000. This is well for a new community, in our yearly product of \$86,357,000. Since the working of your mines, more than \$30,000,000 have been the result. In their gloomy chambers lie mineral

* Powell's Geological Survey, 1887, page 59.

riches, as yet uncatalogued and uncounted. They are awaiting your magic lamp and the "open sesame" of coming enterprise. Out will come gold, silver, iron, tin, mica and coal to diversify your industry, gladden the heart of labor, and inspire civic pride and dignity.

A NEW STATE AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

A casual observer will notice that your people are, on the average, young. A decade makes a veteran settler, among them. They have an exultant bearing which belongs to a youthful State. They are honest. Their ethics are as square as their sections of land. Your morality is founded on the right angles of justice. Happily, you have escaped the troubles of older communities, like those of the South. You have no color line. You are color blind. You have no race question; for your interests are homogeneous. Only your soil is black. Its color is fixed as well as fruitful. The face of your Territory is a vast picture, lighted and shaded as the seasons come and go, by those alternations which give to Nature activity and rest, efflorescence and fruitage, seed time and harvest, and to labor its reward. At this summer time, the green and gold of the fields under your beautiful sky make a landscape which pleases the taste and gratifies the pride.

COMPOSITE PEOPLE.

Your settlements have the varied aspect which belong to many races. You have here the best enterprise of Scandinavia, Russia, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, and our own Eastern and border States. They will attract other peoples no less worthy, who will enhance your values and contribute to your growth. In the northern part of the Territory you have the polite Frenchman, even though he be a half-breed, as ready for a trade as his ancestors. You have the German, as thrifty here as at home, and here with a full fledged *Wittenagemote*, and the women for counsellors. You have many a descendant of the *scalds* of Iceland, whose ancestry repeated the Sagas, and had their open-aired *Thing*, or Parliament. You have the Russian as a citizen freed from Czarism, enjoying his local *Zemstvo*. You have the Celt revelling in the full fruition of that Home Rule which he sought in vain in Ireland; and with him in the full liberty of conscience are the Catholics of Belgium and France. You have the Norseman, who is now so mild a mannered man, that no one would ever suspect that his ancestor was a viking and a pirate. Finally, you have on both sides of the Missouri, sometimes theoretically on, and generally and practically off the reservations, Indians who, when they so determine, cannot speak a word except in their own tongue; some of whom are said to dress so finely,

that they can excel the dudes of Broadway and give them "three points in their blanket." In fine, you have a composite of all the races and their various languages and institutions. They here harmonize under full toleration, notwithstanding they have not acquired the Volapuk, as a medium.

TRADITION AND POETRY.

The stories and traditions from which poetry is derived—its very argument—abound throughout your Territory, from Devil's Lake, with its wonderful snake, to the Shadowy Giants which once guarded the Black Hills from human intrusion. Wherever forests grew, there is found the weird "ancestral tree," in whose boughs the dead Indians are sepulchred, entombed like the coffin of the Arab camel-driver, between earth and heaven.

Your Missouri is itself a flowing epic. As the early explorers "found it difficult to comprise in any general description the characteristics of the Missouri—so extensive and fed by so many streams which have their sources in a great variety of soils and climates," still, as they wrote, "the great river was sufficiently powerful to give all its waters something of a common character." Its very face, its banks, its channel, its bluffs, its productions, its timbers, may undergo changes, owing to the variety of its tribute, but it may be said that its deposits, unlike some which are put into other banks, tend to the enrichment of the country. Out of its local variety is evoked that unity of which the Constitution is the symbol and the bond!

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Local government was the goal of our colonial fathers. It meant a present and home remedy for the grievances catalogued in the Declaration; it meant freedom from arrest without warrant; fair trial by a jury of the vicinage; no quartering of troops or display of forces to despoil the houses of the people or overawe their individual will; no taxation without representation; no suspension of laws by royal decrees; no foreign parasites upon the body politic and no barnacles upon the ship of State. It meant a fair sea, a free breeze and a home harbor for all the ventures of life in the pursuit of happiness.

This was what Dakota had demanded of the Federal Congress for years. To this enfranchisement, her people and those of her sister commonwealths further west, had the inalienable right; and to postpone or refuse this was an outrage not only comparable with the insolence of King George and his ministers, but in this age and land, and under the light of

the past century of advancement in representative and responsible governments, as odious and detestable as the tyranny of the King toward the Colonies.

WHAT'S IN A NAME.

It mattered little to me in championing your statehood, whether Dakota was called by one name or another, so that it had two baptisms, and two names, and a divided entity. It was enough to know that you had the nameless virtues which constitute free communities. It mattered little to me whether you were called North Dakota or South Dakota, provided a division was made by which the future of our Union, regardless of North or South, would be strengthened and other and older States not overawed or undervalued in the national economy.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLE OF GOVERNMENT.

The reason given by Rousseau in his social compact for governing by alien rule, was that strangers are less biased by matters in which they are disinterested, and are not liable to the factions and interests of the commonwealth. This is the very irony of popular government. Old Rome had a better system. Her Decemviri never assumed the right to pass any law merely on their own authority. They seemed, at least, to stand aloof. They gave the right reason for their action. The people was the basis of all authority. "Nothing that we propose," said they to the people, "can pass into law without your consent. Be yourselves, ye Romans, the authors of those laws on which your happiness depends."

That legislator or ruler who would now undertake to rule a people by virtue of his estrangement from their interests, would find himself in control of an anomalous system which would utterly fail.

That we have become an orderly, powerful, progressive Republic, is due as much to the reservation of powers not granted as those granted in the Constitution by the People for a Federal system. That strong sense of duty to the law and that steadfast love of liberty which were embodied in the canons of *Magna Charta* were fostered in the New World by exercising the powers of local colonial government at the doors of the people. Our system gives to State legislatures control over local affairs, and to municipal government control over the affairs of still more limited communities.

He is an impractical *doctrinaire* indeed who would to-day seriously discuss in America—I will not say in England—the question whether or not local home government is the best institution for the welfare of communities.

Your long forbearance with the non-action of Congress has at last been recompensed by the guarantee of local rule and State legislation. In most matters, especially those of domestic concernment, there is no other rule possible to intelligent men, or safe for human contentment. You cannot be tied, like children, to the apron-strings of an Interior Department, nor to have your maturity directed by officials quartered on your people from other States.

DIVISION AND ADMISSION OF DAKOTA.

I am devoutly thankful to God that it has pleased him to allow one so humble as myself to be an agent in hastening and maturing the recent legislation, under which independence and sovereignty through popular conventions—representative of the people of four new States—are to be established. May I not rejoice that the patriotic defenders of these elements of American and human freedom, and of your rights, were able to charter these Northwestern Territories, under proper boundaries and with just franchises, as coequals beneath the grateful shade of the American Federation?

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION,—STRICTLY PARLIAMENTARY.

I do rejoice with you this day. I did not agree with many honorable members who, I fear, hindered and who now claim that they helped you to your present happy and exalted relation. Time and the *Record* will show their motives, votes, propositions, bills and conduct. I leave them to the crucial test of American intelligence. Although a representative of the Atlantic seaboard, I do not forget that I am the son of a pioneer to early Ohio. I learned under Stephen A. Douglas that there was a limit upon Federal control and constitutional vigor, and that that limit was fixed in the interest of the hardy habitant of the Territories. I had not studied the history of your Missouri Valley altogether in vain, and felt a pride, which had no scintilla of ambition or vanity, in the advancement of our constellated flag upon this northern and western frontier.

MINNESOTA STATEHOOD.

I gave my suffrage in 1858 for the admission of Minnesota. Minnesota was also opposed. On what ground? On the ground that such a region could never sustain a sufficient and permanent population for a State! She had fur traders and lumbermen, but no power to sustain animal life after the exhaustion of these industries! Yet, in two decades, she gave forty million bushels of wheat, and her population soon became thrifty and abundant.

For years the same objection was made to Dakota; but in spite of her "clouded titles" and a long-indifferent Congress, she is vastly curtailing the material and political consequence of her eastern neighbor. The bruited about "bad lands" has turned out to be a *brutum fulmen*, for they are productive. Your ordinary lands compare well with those of Ohio or New York, and the great body of the soil is shown to be exceptionally rich; while in minerals your mountains are marvellous.

I am more than repaid to-day by the observance of your jubilee of Freedom, and by the knowledge that an intelligent and just people, regardless of much that may seem heterodox in my politics, have appreciated the purity of my intentions and confirmed the wisdom of the "Instructions" which I had passed for the prompt division by law and admission by proclamation of Dakota!

It is too late now to challenge, even dimly, the remotest possibility of a failure to make Republican governments in these States. The elements which make your population, drawn from New England and New York, Pennsylvania and other States, and the better elements of the old world, have learned under other auspices, and not without sacrifices, to value the heritage of freemen and to make no institutions that are not Republican in form and Democratic in essence.

Is it not enough that your admission is regular, rational and merited. The act was signed by an outgoing President of one party, and your admission hailed by the incoming President. The present executive said in his message that "the judgment and discretion of Congress was fair and impartial, having reference only to the public welfare and to the right of the people of these new communities to a full participation in the privilege of citizenship."

RECORDS OF VOTES ON ADMISSION.

After many weary delays, on the 16th of January last the Senate bill for the admission of South Dakota was called up. It was very unlike the measure which was reported by the majority of the House Committee on Territories. That committee disavored the division of Dakota. Finally it reported a substitute which was known as the "Omnibus bill." This included New Mexico. It was the result of much caucusing, and was greatly changed from the original propositions made by both Senate and House representing the dominant party in each House. Neither of these propositions proposed the absolute division of Dakota or its prompt admission. It was, however, debated on that day.

In that debate I had the honor, along with the delegates interested from the Territories, to take a somewhat prominent part.

When the bill came up on the 17th of January it was debated at length, but it went over until the 18th.

Again, on the 18th January, an amendment offered by Mr. McDonald, of Minnesota, was voted down. Then an amendment by Mr. Springer, of Illinois, was proposed re-submitting the Sioux constitution of 1885 to the people, with some incidental provisions as to boundary, etc. Then an amendment was offered by your delegate for the admission of South Dakota under the Sioux Falls constitution, and also for the continuance of North Dakota as a Territory, but providing for an election as to naming South Dakota, the boundary, etc. It also provided an enabling act for North Dakota. Other amendments were offered. The amendment of the majority of the Committee of the House was debated on that day. Thereupon Mr. Baker, of New York, proposed to re-commit the bill, with instructions to admit South Dakota into the Union, and to provide enabling acts for North Dakota, Montana and Washington Territories. This was voted down, and the "Omnibus bill" passed the House.

The bill went to the Senate. It was disagreed to by that body. Then there was a long hiatus, and the friends of the Territories were becoming restive. However, it was called up on the 14th February, with the report of the failure to agree between the two Houses.

Amendments were tendered to the motion, among them one by Mr. Baker, of New York, which was an instruction for the House conferees to recede so as to allow, *first*, the exclusion of New Mexico from the bill, and, *second*, the admission of South Dakota under the Sioux Falls constitution, and, *third*, the re-submission of that constitution to the people, with provisions for the election of *State* officers only, and without a new vote on the question of "division." It also provided for the admission of North Dakota, Montana and Washington either by the proclamation of the President, or by further action of Congress in the way of formal acts of admission.

This was an advance; but it left to the conference to say whether the old question should come up again in a new Congress, either at an extra session or at the regular session of the Fifty-first Congress.

Thereupon, I had the honor to propose a sweeping substitute, which I had outlined and urged in the *New York World*, in the caucus and in the House. Inasmuch as time was precious and was fast gliding away, and as I knew the intention of many friends who honestly thought that Congress ought to do nothing, and as the Senate would not admit New Mexico, I proposed, *first*, its absolute exclusion from the bill; *second*, an unqualified instruction to the Committee of conference to provide for the division of Dakota and the admission of South

Dakota under the Sioux Falls constitution by proclamation, and a new election for Federal officers, as well as State; and *third*, the admission of North Dakota, Montana and Washington on the same basis, and all of them under proclamation by the President. The last instructions referred all other matters of detail to the Committee of Conference for their discretion.

This proposition was intended to be a finality. It was instruction, not advice or request, absolute instruction. There was in it no "if" or "and," no ambiguity or alternative. It was attacked bitterly; but, at last, the House was brought to a vote upon it directly. A Kentucky statesman insisted on a separate vote on every separable proposition. This, under the rules, he had the right to do. The vote on the exclusion of New Mexico was 135 against 105. Mr. Breckenridge voted in the affirmative in order to move a reconsideration, and the fight was kept up. He failed on a vote of 136 to 109.

The second proposition, for the admission of South Dakota, by proclamation, under the Sioux Falls Constitution and for a new election of State and Federal officers and without a new vote on the question of division, then came up. It was carried by 137 to 103.

The territories were gaining and the opposition was losing. Then filibustering began by a motion to adjourn. That failed by 82 yeas against 143 nays; the territories still gaining and the opposition still losing. Another motion to adjourn failed.

The subject then went over until the next day, on the condition that no more dilatory motions should be made. Upon the next day the second proposition was again voted on a motion to reconsider. The house stood by the territories and the instructions.

I confess that I did not spend a very quiet or sleepful night, but I was gratified when, in the morning, the vote showed that the territories had 146 yeas and the nays only 109, the instructions still gaining.

The resolution as to North Dakota, Montana and Washington, to be admitted on the same basis, and all of them by proclamation, went through without an aye and no vote, together with the last proposition as to indifferent matters. Thereupon, the indefatigable gentleman from Kentucky insisted upon a vote upon the initial clause of instruction. He desired to submit a preliminary inquiry to the Speaker. The Chair heard it. He desired to know whether, if the enacting clause of instructions was voted down, the conferees would not be free and uninstructed? The Speaker replied "except in so far as they may accept these votes as expressing the sense of the House." The gentleman undertook to argue it after the previous question. To this I objected. The vote was taken. The yeas were 148 and the nays 102. So that from the beginning to the end of

the struggle the sentiment of the House was expressed in favor of the instructions. This was on the 15th February. Congress was drawing to a close. Day after day passed.

The friends of the Territories again became restive, and anxious. Should there be an extra session? Should the whole matter be taken up in the Fifty-first Congress, or should the matter be ended promptly? After much conference outside, of which gentlemen who are here are well advised, there were a few accommodations made, and the instructions were complied with; and very slowly the conference reported and the bill became a law. It was signed by the President with a quill taken from an American eagle, which it was said was given to some champion to entwine around his scalp lock.

Thus it appears from this record, the pages of which are accessible to everybody* that the straight line to settle the question of admission and division not only of the two Dakotas, but of the other Territories of Montana and Washington, was carried in such an emphatic manner that the people have universally accepted the four States and placed their starry emblems upon our flag, in advance of the formalities which are to-day proceeding in the territories.*

THE PIPE OF PEACE.

I am content that he should keep the souvenir. I am content to day to leave at home the tomahawk of Tammany and wear the magic moccasin of Hiawatha whose stride when he went courting Minnehaha—was like that of the steam locomotive—a mile a minute! I am content to smoke with you—the jasper pipe with the ashen stem and to join with laughing Hiawatha in singing, that if:

“There are feuds yet unforgotten
Wounds that ache and still may open,
For that reason and no other
Would I wed the fair Dakota!
That our tribes may be united
And old wounds healed forever.”

Applying the generous thought to our whole land, let us infuse into our politics more sunshine—which is love, and less shadow, which is hate!

* Vide Record, Second Session, Fiftieth Congress, S. S. Cox's Remarks, pp. 800-6, 938, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1911, 1939, 1940. Votes on "Omnibus Bill." pp. 934, 949, 950, 951, 952

On Cox Instructions, viz:

“Resolved, That the House instruct the new conferees to recede from the amendments to the Senate bill 185 in the following respects:

1. That the Territory of New Mexico and the proposed new State thereof may be excluded from the bill.

2. That the bill may be so amended in conference as to provide for the admission of South Dakota by proclamation of the President, under the Sioux Falls constitution, to be resubmitted to the people of South Dakota, with provisions

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER.

The Constitution of 1787-'89, made a more perfect union among the States than the Articles of Confederation had guaranteed. It was in such direct contrast with the constitutions and the abstract ideas of the French Revolution, that while the latter fades from our vision, the former remains perpetual. It has stood the test of time and the strain of war.

It is true that the Supreme Court decisions reveal the fact that there have been many dissenting opinions in relation to the powers granted and the rights reserved under that Constitution; and although we may regard these differences of opinion as to certain clauses in the Constitution, as inauspicious and menacing—yet the fact that we have a supreme tribunal of independence and dignity, which holds the scales of justice evenly between the Federal Government and the States, is a matter as well of state equilibrium as of transcendent pride.

"The Supreme Court, as the seventy-eighth number of the *Federalist* prophesied, remains "the bulwark of a limited Constitution against legislative encroachments."

The constitutional changes during the last quarter of a century, growing out of the war, have been great, although few. But to the great body of our people, they are of little import and anxiety compared with the interests guaranteed under State authority, which come home to the business and bosom of our people.

One thing may be said for the Supreme tribunal and that is: that notwithstanding the two schools of philosophy—that of loose construction and of strict construction—the best construction prevails. It has been inspired by the desire to restrict the powers of the Federal Government within its proper grants and limitations, and reserve those which relate to the several States and their daily domesticities. And this is a bond of union.

Regardless of party ascendancy, either in the country or in the Court, regardless of party traditions, growing out of the

for a new election of State and Federal officers, and without a new vote on the question of division.

3. Further providing that the proposed States of North Dakota, Montana, and Washington shall be admitted on the same basis, and all of them under proclamation by the President.

Further, that all such matters as relate to the election of delegates and apportionment of the districts in which members to the convention are to be elected, the date of holding the convention, and the date of the resubmission of the South Dakota constitution, and the location of the temporary seat of government in South Dakota, and such other matters as are not included in the instructions above recited to be referred to the committee of conference for their discretion."

Votes, pp. 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1939, 1940.

resolutions of '98, or out of the theories upon which the civil war was waged—the framers of the Constitution are vindicated by the events between 1789 and 1889. The instrument which they framed was not too rigid for the changes of an expanding people, nor so lax as to allow the body of Federal power to be dissolved.

There has been no impairment of the obligations, or of the efficiency of the constitution.

The people have come to regard it with reverential awe, not born of indifference or superstition or ignorance of its provisions, but proceeding from an observation of the magnificent results which it has achieved within its hundred years of vigorous advance.

Our Constitution was not without forerunners. Its wisdom was prompted by such writers as Montesquieu and Locke, and many other guides—men of business, of piety, of scholarship and of statesmanship; and, therefore, their work was not based upon abstract doctrine. Their materials were “gifts of the ages.”

In one thing, its framers were peculiar; not in patriotic feeling; not in nationality; not in language; not in law; not in literature; but in the principal of individuality. The Constitution established nothing that interfered with equality and individuality. Every faculty had its opportunity for development and culture. To use the figure of our historian—“As the sea is made up of drops, American society is composed of sturdy, free and constantly moving atoms, ever in reciprocal action, advancing, receding, crossing, struggling against each other, and with each other, so that the institutions and laws of the country rise out of the mass of individual thought, which, like the waters of the ocean, are rolling ever more.”

PERILS TO OUR SYSTEM.

There are perils which encompass us on many sides. The centenary epoch with its halo of light around the form of Washington, seems to have illuminated the dark places and to have evoked some sinister auguries. While it is not unwise to regard these perils to our safety and perpetuity, is there any wisdom in exaggerating them on the one hand or minimizing them on the other? These perils do not threaten so menacingly communities like your own; for by the provisions of Congress, your present and future generation will never lack for educational facilities of mind and conscience; and, as a consequence, the responsibility for your future will be heeded and your duty be done. From signs which I have observed, I know that you are already aware of the danger of accumulated capital and the crushing power of corporations. In whatever form wealth may come, and however asserted, it

can only do harm when its greed is so increased and its luxuries are so engendered as to be an insidious and relentless foe to simplicity of life and freedom of political action.

I am not one of those who believe that our political agents are as corrupt as they are pictured, nor do I join in the pharisaical cant from the pulpit or the press, which arrogates to itself out of its own purity by derogating from the virtue of others once in a hundred years. There are men who creep out of their shells after long hybernation, to scourge the money changers from the temple and the seven devils out of our political body. They are not entitled to as much emphasis as those who in the heat and dust of active life, religious, political, social, educational and otherwise, illustrate by daily living and manly struggle the virtues which others only preach.

The great opportunity for gain, which have been increased with the lapse of time, is not a source of danger, provided honest and thoughtful men avert the corrupt influences. Let those who praise our antique virtues look through the mists of time and thus magnify their eulogy. It is always safe to form an ideal based upon civic virtue, by which the future itself may be directed and measured.

The great peril of this country has been passed. We can look back from our lofty height and from this new part of the country without a shudder at the abyss over which we have passed. The keen eye of that eagle, by which we are pleased to typify our height and flight, here sweeps an extended horizon, and though flying in unerring circles, it gazes with unquenched sight upon our full midday radiance, defying all the auguries of fate.

IS THE INCREASE OF STATES DANGEROUS?

There is no pessimist so cynical, there is no politician so corrupt, there is no theorist so wild, who dares ignore the splendid secular strength by which we have enlarged our domain, enhanced our institutions and glorified our Republic during the last century.

It puzzles such critics as the *London Times* to understand this remarkable advancement and stability. "It is impossible," exclaims that paper, "for a unity like America, not to be transformed by the plunging into it of realm after realm."

This is not a clear expression; but it means that the Editor fancies that too many States, four at a birth, is dangerous to the system. It thinks that the centre of national gravity must surely be altered by the accretion of such new States as those which are now forming as the latest constellation. The Englishman has learned little about us since 1776, if he has not learned that the colonial, dependent or Territorial condition is not

our normal condition. Our people are citizens, not subjects. They have been cultured in communities before they ventured into Territories, with the hope, prospect and right of again becoming citizens in the full Romanesque quality.

These are perils surrounding our State, not to be ignored, without blunder or crime; but our danger comes not from the causes and commotion predicted by the London journalist. There is no danger of tipping over by changing the centre of national gravity; no danger of any modification in the present or in the future, to weaken the ligature which binds the citizen to the sovereignty of the people in the States and in the Union. Our new States—realm after realm—when they come, come to lengthen, broaden and strengthen every atom or element which makes up that national gravity, whose centre is in the hearts of an honest people and whose circumference is limited only by gulf, ocean, and lake.

MADISON.

Madison, ever undismayed, believed in the "due supremacy of the Nation, with the preservation of the local authorities in their subordinate usefulness. But he saw clearly that a wider extended Territory was the true sphere for a Republic, and, in advance of the Federal convention, he sketched a thoroughly comprehensive constitutional government for the Union."^{*}

THE WORLD IS MOVING.

Even Japan is clothing herself in the habiliments of representative government. They are not made to fit any other people than her own. In time they may be so related and fitting, that we ourselves will approve of them in detail, as we now do in general. Certainly, the world is moving, for within our own time we can recall the humorous fact that the Emperor of that same Japan died from immoderately laughing when told that the Americans governed themselves without a king.

The States are independent of foreign control, and they are independent in many of their domestic relations. If there be a weakness at all, it is the weakness of each which becomes the strength of all. So that the farther we have carried our Federal frontier, and the more our stars have multiplied, the stronger the government of the Federal Union has become.

De Tocqueville, within a half a century, in predicting the constant increase of our power, looked upon the Rocky Mountains as the probable limit of the United States. He

^{*}(Bancroft's History of the Constitution, vol. 1, p. 278.)

regarded our progress as having the solemnity of a Providential event, "like a deluge of men rising unabatedly and daily driven onward by the hand of God." He saw no danger of dismemberment or destruction by the increase of our numbers; for our inland seas, our great rivers and exuberant soil would remain; nor would bad laws, revolutions and anarchy ever obliterate that love of prosperity and that spirit of enterprise which are distinctively characteristic of our race, or ever be able to extinguish that knowledge which guides us on our way. Rising upon the wing of his imagination, he looked to the Anglo-American race as covering the immense space contained between the Polar regions and the tropics, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

This prophecy he verified by considering the equality in condition, race, origin, civilization, language, general habits and opinions. The growing power of the Republic was to him a fact entirely novel in the world, and of which, even the imagination* could not find its portals.

CAUSE OF STABILITY.

If there has been any danger to our Union or its constituents, it never came from the new States. It will not come from them hereafter. It came from the old States with peculiar institutions. Younger children are not prone to be matricidal. Profoundly proud to be within the charmed circle of the Union, the young States not only revere each other and all, but acknowledge that blessed centripetal energy which, whatever may be the centre of population and the relation of the sections, will not allow the States to flash like meteors athwart the political sky, but enables them to revolve and shine in appointed orbits on their own soft axle.

Saratoga and Yorktown called into existence the Federal Union under the Constitution, but Appomattox settled forever its stability. Washington and his compatriots evoked from the Revolution the established order, but the embattled bravery of our own epoch gave assurance of its inviolable perpetuity. That order may be likened to the sun with its luster and force—illuminating without consuming, orbicular and not erratic. The States preserve under its attraction their proportions of equality and independence. Within the same shining pathway, out of their territorial nebulae, there bursts forth in your northern heavens, set in the forehead of the century, four more stars differing in glory, but each giving their special qualities to the system—each "repairing with their golden urns" to draw light and add fresh illumination,

* "Un fait entierement nouveau dans le monde, et dont l'imagination elle-meme ne saurait saisir la portee."
DE TOCQUEVILLE.

so that like the stars at the dawn of creation, each and all move in their orbits with symphonies attuned by the harmonies of the everlasting law of God.

If my astronomic comparison be too inapt, may I not change it for one which has a more territorial meaning?

Some vessels, like those of the ship of State, are sunk at the Spice Islands of luxury; some are beckoned upon the rocks by siren voices; some go down in the whirlpool of civil conflict; some perish in the wild hurricane of ambition; some are broken in twain in the mid-ocean of popular indifference; some are scuttled by roguery to get the insurance; some are badly managed by the crew and some by the master, and some are crushed amidst the ice-floes of despotism.

But that vessel of State is best which, like our own, with the skillful pilot and faithful master and vigilant crew, changeable at the will of the owners, sails by the charter party and brings its cargo into the haven of safety.

There are now thirteen States west of the Mississippi. Soon there will be seventeen. They are with us, or will be with us before our Centennial year is over. When the next census is taken, there will be, most likely, seventeen millions of inhabitants embraced in the seventeen States and Territories upon this side of the Mississippi.

Since our three millions in the small strip upon the Atlantic coast we have leaped forward with such progress that nearly six times the original population which achieved our independence will become partakers of that Union in that territory alone which Mr. Jefferson's grand project incorporated by the treaty of 1803.

Steadily westward, since the beginning of our career, has the "star of the empire" wended its way. It now looks down upon three States in the heart of our Union—Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana—but the light which it sheds is so supernal and lofty that you may catch its gleams in remote Washington and distant Florida, or from the pine woods of Maine to the orange groves of California.

CONGRATULATIONS.

Therefore, my fellow citizens, as one who has had something to do in watching Dakota as a cradled Hercules, it is my pride and pleasure on this natal day of States and Union, to congratulate you and your colleagues further west, upon the happy outcome of the long controversy by which, without further petitioning Congress, or further action from that body, and by the application of your own popular system, you renew under these wide skies and plains that allegiance, love and loyalty to the whole country, without which we would all suffer disastrous eclipse.

He, indeed, is unworthy of citizenship in such a land who simply looks upon the marvel of our newly created States with an eye to party aggrandizement. Parties may come and go, but the new Commonwealths which have added their lustre to our ensign, shine by right and not by sufferance. They are in the full radiance of Statehood. They are the subject of patriotic congratulation, not less than those older Commonwealths who have recently rejoiced over the inauguration of our Constitution and its first incomparable President.

Would it were in my power to make a horoscope of that future of America which now looms upon her horizon. It would not be bounded by State lines, nor by ocean, lake and gulf. Its population would count up, even within the lifetime of many who hear me, to a hundred million of people, instinct with enterprise; intelligent through education; free through its institutions and banded together by common memories for a growing and glorious future. States and not Territories, not ignoble dependencies but independent sovereignties, these make up that refinement of civil polity, which is the attribute of the American system, and which has no example in the annals of mankind. Its people may be composite, its system complex, but its destiny is one and its forces compensatory and beneficent. Its very machinery is worthy of the prophetic vision of the Hebrew prophet when he saw wheel within wheel, even as States within States—*imperium in imperio*—and all moving under harmonious conditions and evolving the greatest happiness for the greatest number,—all working under energetic, vital, elemental forces which give to life that liberty which cannot but by annihilation die.

The great event which stands most prominent at the head of our new century, which the next census will make still more illustrious, is the fact that the western country, along with the cities west of the Mississippi, from St. Paul to Portland, from St. Louis to San Francisco, and from Bismarck to Galveston, will add such percentages to their growth in population and in wealth, that cotton and commerce will be discounted, and the West with its Land can give command to both north and south, and by its potential voice stop the dissensions and jealousies of the sections.

CERES—THE QUEEN.

The voice of the West will be omnipotent, for it is a voice which cries out from the earth, who is our mother.

In the delicious mythology of Greece, the goddess of the earth was the sister of the god of the heavens—Jupiter. As Ceres she became the protectress of the growing grain and the copious harvest. Hymns were sung and temples erected in her honor. At her bidding the earth yielded or refused to

